/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

[867] [884] [602] The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

619 628 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between members of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

628 The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others 867 cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man; 582 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy 584 commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

881 [31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they [867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening [584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one [606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young [304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even [386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the 304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting 881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re- 884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking.

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung.

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years.

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory.

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed.

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him.

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

881 companions saying, " I dare not speak to you." The married
867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868 in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*/hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the */hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the */hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of */gūb*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the */hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the */hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 */hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *//gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The */hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the */hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the */hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*/gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the */huru-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

self, on Gao Feet's side, was sitting propped on the blankets we had given him to keep him warm in case of shock, feeling better and obviously taking an interest, for the matter was clearly close to everybody's heart. In fact, everyone was so interested in the quarrel that no one looked up when we came, for the people all sat with their ears pricked, waiting for a chance to speak. They, too, were glaring, deadly earnest, as though the argument were for their lives. Now and then someone would contribute a word or two, but for the most part the old woman did the talking. She looked bitter as gall; her eyes were burning and she hissed like a goose; she was accusing Gao Feet of having failed to give her a present of tsi nuts when he had come to Nama. Gao Feet was rubbing his face and it began to look as if he were losing. He said, obviously having said it before, that he had brought only a few. The woman said, also not for the first time, that she had expected him to give her a present and now he was refusing to do so. It was her right, she said, her due. Toma edged himself forward until he was beside Gao Feet, his friend and brother-in-law, and together they tried to pacify her, telling her that really Gao Feet had none to give, but her eyes burned so fiercely and the people behind her glared so that Toma and Gao Feet lost conviction and before long they fell silent again, defeated by themselves, for what they had tried to say was true. Finally the argument centered itself at its probable source, a gift given to Gao Feet's father by the woman's father which had not completed itself in an exchange. The woman's father, now long dead, could not receive it, Gao Feet's father, living far away at another pan at the farthest end of Nyae Nyae, could not give it unless he moved to Nama, so it was up to Gao Feet to assume responsibility.

Throughout the two crowds, children were sitting wide-eyed and open-eared. Things like this are remembered and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

talked about always; Bushman children listen for hours to discussions of this kind and thereby know the history of every object, every exchange between their families, before they are ten or twelve years old. A debt unpaid is a sword against the debtor, to be used against him any time, for any reason. Jealousy and spite had surely preyed on the old woman's mind when she had started this discussion, for she had got up to seek out Gao Feet very early, just at dawn.

In the end, the argument was concluded and the crowd scattered by us when we told Short Kwi that we were ready to take him to the hospital in Windhoek if he would go. He said he would, and the people, glaring bitterly at him, at each other, and at us, stood up and went to their scherms, saying to the other members of their families what they would have said to their opponents if they had had a chance.

Soon Short Kwi's werf was nearly empty. The only people who remained were Short Kwi, his family, ourselves, Toma, and Gao Feet. These two talked together, vindicating themselves, and then, before long and before we had a chance to discuss our plans to move Short Kwi, some of the people who had been on Gao Feet's side in the argument came back and crouched beside us stolidly, waiting to hear what might now be said. Jealousy had been aroused.

Because of the long journey and Short Kwi's condition, we thought that it would be best for him to leave at once, but his wife spoke out against this, saying that the rest of her family, probably at this moment on their way here, would be heartbroken to find them gone. She would like to wait for them, she said, to say good-by. Gao Feet agreed with her. He added that if her mother were to come and find her gone the old woman would cry and cry for days, but Toma shook his head. "Perhaps Short Kwi can be helped," he said. "Perhaps

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to show how it was.

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months away.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

428 The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
[768] man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried
[431] with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community.

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters.

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly.